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ABSTRACT

This report describes the evolution of Afro-American, Hispanic, and American Indian studies supported by the Ford Foundation at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. An overview of the events which led to increased interest in minority/ethnic studies is provided. Specific undergraduate programs discussed include the Afro-American studies program at Yale, the Mexican American studies program at California State University, and programs for minority students at Oakes College. Aspects considered include vocational concerns of those in Afro-American studies, the demand for bilingual/bicultural education in Los Angeles, and the role ethnic studies has played in increasing minority student interest in science. Specific graduate programs referred to include the Afro-American Studies Programs at Boston University and Atlanta University, the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at the City University of New York, and the multi-ethnic program at the University of California at Los Angeles. Reviewed are strategies undertaken by these universities to develop and establish professional interest and concern for the respective minority/ethnic groups. (EB)

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Widening the Mainstream of American Culture

A FORD FOUNDATION REPORT ON ETHNIC STUDIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Text by Jack Bass

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The campus of Atlanta University, a center of scholarly interest in the history and culture of blacks in America since 1897, when W. E. B. DuBois joined the faculty. An interdisciplinary master's program in Afro-American studies at Atlanta is one of several graduate and undergraduate ethnic studies centers that the Ford Foundation helped establish in the early 1970s.

It is no new discovery that the Afro-American experience in America —and, by implication, that of other racial minorities—is worth serious study. Black and white scholars like E. Franklin Frazier, Melville Herskovits, W. E. B. DuBois, Charles Johnson, Robert Park, John Hope Franklin, Gunnar Myrdal, and Carter G. Woodson did important research about the black heritage during the first half of the twentieth century. But with few exceptions, neither the black scholars nor the research on the Afro-American experience was welcome in major American universities, and the scholarly findings seldom found their way into the curricula and textbooks of colleges and public schools.

Just before he died in 1970, the poet-philosopher James McBride Dabbs, a white Southerner and trenchant observer of race relations in America, wrote, ". . . whites have been not only ignorant of the blacks but willfully ignorant. The ignorance the exploiter has of the exploited is an important factor in exploitation."

Even at black colleges, most of which were created after the Civil War and were dependent upon whites for financial support, the emphasis was on training for careers in teaching and the church. Except at Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard Universities, there usually was little reward for scholarship on Afro-American history and culture beyond the satisfactions of scholarship itself. There was even less after World War II because the emphasis on integration tended to downplay differences among groups.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s created the conditions from which the contemporary demand for Afro-American studies grew. It was followed by a similar demand for ethnic studies by other groups that had experienced oppression in America—Mexican Americans,

Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and Asian Americans, for example.

The assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 was the crucial event that galvanized institutions of higher education into developing courses in Afro-American history and culture as legitimate subjects of study. At predominantly white institutions, where black students were just then being recruited in significant numbers, blacks felt isolated and resentful that the only time blacks seemed to be discussed in or out of the classroom was in connection with one or another contemporary social problem. But even at black colleges little academic attention was paid to black culture. In crying out against this situation young blacks were demanding what Herman Blake, a black sociologist, calls recognition of their "legitimacy as people of color and as human beings."

The widely publicized demonstrations for curriculum changes forced a remarkable institutional response. From virtually none two years earlier, there were by 1970 some 640 institutions offering courses on the black experience. Approximately sixty-five reported an undergraduate major in Afro-American studies, sixty-nine an undergraduate minor, and four a graduate major. The range of commitment, thought, and planning that went into such programs varied widely. Some were designed primarily to avoid further confrontations or to keep the students quiet. Others represented a genuine commitment to remedy curriculum deficiencies. Most of the former did not survive.

In 1969, the Ford Foundation embarked on a program of support for Afro-American studies. It did so in the conviction that such studies deserved a place in the American college curriculum and that they would be socially constructive for whites as well as blacks. The Foundation began by helping a few strong institutions to develop undergraduate programs. Emphasis subsequently shifted to the graduate level in order to develop minority scholars, to help overcome the shortage of minority faculty, and to add to scholarship about minority cultures.* Starting in 1970 support was also given for Hispanic and American Indian studies. Having helped to get a variety of programs established, and the legitimacy of the field itself more widely acknowledged, the Foundation has concluded its special program of assistance.

This report describes the evolution of these ethnic studies programs at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

*Since 1970 the Ford Foundation has contributed some $11 million in grants related to ethnic studies. This figure does not include more than $47 million earmarked for graduate fellowship programs in which individual awards, ranging from one to five years, have been made for graduate study by black Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. These grants are producing some 2,500 scholars who will teach and conduct research in a variety of disciplines.

Turmoil and Legitimacy

The rhetoric of students demanding Afro-American studies was often confusing and sometimes separatist. On some campuses they demanded courses taught only by and for blacks, separate dormitories and campus centers for black students, and student approval of faculty and curriculum. In a few instances they forced the hiring of instructors notable more for civil rights protests than for academic achievement.

A number of white and black scholars strongly opposed such separatism on the grounds that it reflected a mistaken perception of the role of universities and colleges. They warned that strident demands that sacrificed intellectual substance provided faculty members and administrators who might be hostile or indifferent to Afro-American studies with justification for destroying them, and in some cases that happened. The scholars insisted that only academic integrity would make Afro-American studies safe from racially motivated attacks or from budget cuts when student pressure lessened.

At the same time, many black scholars and some white scholars and college presidents agreed that the traditional liberal arts curriculum in American colleges and universities reflected a white mind-set and ignored the important role black people have played in the development of American culture. At a symposium on black studies at Yale University in 1968, historian Edwin S. Redkey declared, "Teaching black history . . . is not special education *for* blacks, but special education *about* blacks. White people need this education today as much as blacks do."

And John W. Blassingame, now a history professor at Yale, wrote, "black studies is too serious . . . has too many exciting possibilities of liberating the racially shackled American mind, for intellectuals to shirk their responsibility to organize academically respectable programs. This possibility of curricular innovation must . . . take advantage of the opportunity to enrich the educational experiences of all students and teach them to think and to understand more clearly the problems of their age."

As summed up by Allen B. Ballard in *The Education of Black Folk* (Harper and Row, 1973), the problems posed by Afro-American studies programs (shared to a considerable extent by other ethnic studies programs), were as follows:

> First, there was serious doubt among academicians that any such body of knowledge as "black studies" existed. Second, many scholars felt that the programs would be highly politicized and doctrinaire. Third, a fear existed that the quality of programs would be inferior since there was a severe shortage of scholars, black or white, trained in the discipline. Fourth, there was a con-

cern over dangers to academic freedom implicit in the student demands for a complete autonomy over the program, both in faculty selection and in course offering. Fifth—and this objection came primarily from black integrationists—there was an uneasy sense that black studies was only a device for diverting black students away from the conquest of the "hard" disciplines into a dead end curriculum that would ultimately be of no value either to them or to the black community. Finally, questions arose over the proposed exclusion of white students and white professors from black studies programs.

Thus, the introduction of black studies to American campuses began with conflict between academic substance and political purposes. Much of the subsequent misunderstanding of ethnic studies resulted from that emotion-charged beginning. From the basic conflict about the relations between politics and scholarship, two divergent sets of assumptions emerged. In one, the standard curriculum was viewed as essentially intellectual, non-political, and universal in spite of—or perhaps because of—its tendency to exclude values other than those of the dominant group. But that position, according to the other view, was far from being universal and non-political. Rather, it concealed values that are particular to certain groups and also masked very real political interests that act to keep minority groups subordinate. This was done by preventing recognition of minority cultures and values as fully human and therefore preventing them from becoming competitive.

Things were further confused when not all black students signed up for the new programs as some administrators believed they would. Students said they wanted recognition in the curriculum of Afro-American culture and history as a legitimate area of study, whether or not they enrolled in such courses themselves. The students essentially sought that their presence be acknowledged and that their distinctive heritage, for which white America, consciously or unconsciously, showed almost no awareness, be preserved.

Despite their tumultuous beginnings most black studies programs today, "adhere to the major principles of higher education—research, service, and teaching," according to Joseph J. Russell, executive director of the National Council on Black Studies and chairman of the Department of Afro-American Studies at Indiana University. By 1977 there were some 300 Afro-American studies programs, about 125 of which grant B.A. or M.A. degrees. (There are still no doctoral programs in Afro-American studies, although one has been proposed at Yale.) And, Dr. Russell says, instructors who were hired without the usual academic requirements are being replaced by faculty who possess full academic credentials. Most of them have doctoral degrees in traditional disciplines with a concentration in Afro-American Studies.

Undergraduate Programs

Besides awakening a sense of pride among blacks, the civil rights movement also awakened new feelings of obligation among many white college administrators. For the first time white colleges began to recruit minority youths.* Many of those admitted were from impoverished backgrounds. They were anxious to do well academically, but unsure of their ability to do so. Some also felt a bit guilty about escaping the harsh circumstances that had destroyed so many of their peers. Generally, too, they came with a highly sensitive mistrust of any white person who had not proved worthy of trust and respect. This attitude was resented by many white faculty, administrators, and students, which helps explain the "communications problem" on some campuses when demands for black studies were first made and particularly when black students on traditionally white campuses in the East began organizing to press those and other demands.

One such group, the Association for Black Collegians at Princeton, managed to bridge the communications gap. To mark the formation of the association and to lay the groundwork for intercollegiate communication among blacks, in the spring of 1967 it sponsored a two-day conference for black students attending predominantly white colleges and universities on the Eastern seaboard. Invitations were sent to fifty institutions, and 200 students, along with several white administrators, from forty-one attended. Princeton's president, Robert F. Goheen, was scheduled to make brief welcoming remarks; instead he made a spontaneous thirty-minute speech acknowledging the inequities of the past, but urging the students to look forward to the future, and to make the most of their opportunity to gain an education that would help put them in the vanguard of progress for their people and for the nation as a whole. Carl A. Fields, Princeton's first black administrator, who had helped the students organize the conference, later wrote that the standing ovation given Goheen was "a tribute that I have seldom seen accorded a white man by a black group."

It was rare in the late 1960s for the president of a white college to be invited to attend, much less open, an affair given by its black stu-

*Between 1968 and 1973 the Foundation made a series of grants totaling $4.4 million to assist predominantly white colleges and universities in recruiting, tutoring, and counseling minority students. The Foundation also supported a study of black students' adjustment to white campuses through a grant to Charles Willie, a sociologist at Syracuse University. The study was published in 1972 as *Black Students at White Colleges* (Praeger). Another Foundation-assisted study, a nationwide survey by Dr. William M. Boyd II of the Educational Policy Center, dealt with black students and both black and white faculty members of predominantly white colleges. Boyd analyzed the results in his report, *Desegregating American Colleges*, (New York: Praeger 1974).

At a meeting in Calhoun College at Yale, guest speaker Wole Soyinka (right), the Nigerian novelist, is shown with American playwright Amiri Baraka (center), visiting lecturer at the university's Afro-American Studies program in 1977-78.

dents. The next day Princeton's dean of students also attended the conference, to introduce the principal speaker, a black man. The conference not only contributed to the association's reputation as a positive, competent force on campus, but it also laid the groundwork for open and amicable relations between black students and the Princeton administration, which held both in good stead during subsequent times of tension, especially after the assassination of Dr. King. When Afro-American studies were introduced at Princeton in 1969 it was clearly understood by all that the program would adhere to rigorous academic standards.

On some other campuses, students also found top-level administrators willing to listen, and they presented persuasive arguments to support programs of black studies.

In 1969 and 1970, the Ford Foundation awarded $1 3 million in start-up grants aimed at developing undergraduate interdisciplinary Afro-American studies programs at twelve colleges and universities. The institutions—both black and white—included, for example, Fisk and Howard and Princeton and Yale. Another eighteen grants totaling some $1.1 million were awarded to catalogue Afro-American materials, prepare and disseminate course materials on black history and culture, train teachers to use them, and bring scholars together to exchange ideas and information about the current state and future development of Afro-American studies.

THE YALE CASE

Yale was one of the universities that received support in 1969 to start an undergraduate program in Afro-American studies. Preparation had started more than a year previously. Yale's Black Student Alliance first met with President Kingman Brewster and other officials in February, 1968. The students began by pointing out that Yale lacked a coherent academic presentation of the history and contributions of black people in the New World. This deprived black students of access to an understanding of their own past and contemporary condition. It also denied Yale's white students the opportunity to understand the integral part blacks have played in American history. Finally, they argued, the absence of an organized program of Afro-American studies implied that the black experience is not in itself distinctive and important enough to be worthy of study. By failing to offer such a program, the students said, Yale contributed, however unconsciously, to a racist assumption of white superiority and to the kind of intellectual bias that had no place in a great university.

For the next three months the students and Yale officials met weekly,

and in the spring of 1968 the students organized a two-day symposium that attracted educators from throughout the nation. (The papers presented at the symposium and the subsequent discussions were collected in a book, *Black Studies in the University*, published in 1969 by the Yale University Press.)

Out of this activity a proposed Afro-American studies major began to take shape. It underwent careful scrutiny and review, with skeptics on the faculty being persuaded that the students presented a rational claim. From the beginning there was no compropise of academic substance and an insistence that the faculty of the new program meet the same standards as existing departments.

Things did not always go so smoothly at other institutions. At one midwestern university, for example, some observers claimed that a carefully planned multidisciplinary program in black history and culture was undermined, apparently deliberately. According to a black professor there, "white faculty and administrators who were hostile to blacks and to black studies proposals in the first place picked an academic hustler in a dashiki to head the program, gave him a lot of money to provide sinecures for himself and his incompetent friends, and that was the end of black studies around here. They knew exactly what they were doing when they picked him."

At Yale, high faculty standards are ensured by the requirement that teachers in the Afro-American Studies program must be approved by both the director of the program and the head of the department of his or her academic specialty.

In the late 1960s, there was considerable debate about whether to establish separate departments or programs for black studies, to insert subject matter about blacks in existing courses, or to develop new courses within existing departments. Yale has integrated all three approaches. The 1976-1977 bulletin for Afro-American Studies at Yale lists seventy recommended courses in other disciplines, in addition to forty-one under Afro-American Studies.

In addition, many of the courses under Afro-American Studies have joint listings in the university catalogue. For example, one on "Politics and the Black American" is listed with separate course numbers under both Afro-American Studies and Political Science.

And, in 1976-1977 twenty-five faculty held joint appointments in Afro-American Studies and in one of ten academic departments, ranging from music and English to political science and anthropology.

The undergraduate major in Afro-American Studies requires either a concentration in a traditional discipline or a double major. In 1977 a dozen juniors and seniors were majoring in Afro-American Studies, but more than 500 students, black and white, were enrolled in classes offered by the program. Although that number is down from the early

1970s, John Blassingame, acting director of the program, believes the reduction can be explained in part by the inclusion of material about blacks in tradtional courses. "When blacks are included in a general survey course on American history, the demand isn't going to be as great for a separate course in black history," he said, "and I notice Ralph Ellison shows up a lot more often now in general literature courses than he did eight years ago."

Most of the Yale Afro-American Studies faculty represent a new generation of scholars. Dr. Blassingame is an example. The son of a truck driver in Social Circle, Ga., a rural community east of Atlanta, he earned his B.A. in 1960 from Fort Valley State College, one of Georgia's then-segregated public colleges for blacks, and a master's from Howard University the following year. After teaching four years at Howard, he began his Ph.D. studies at Yale, completing his course work in a record two-and-a-half years. In 1969, while teaching at the University of Maryland and working on his dissertation, he received a Ford Foundation Advanced Study Fellowship. This allowed him to take a year off and complete the research and writing of his dissertation, which dealt with New Orleans blacks during the post-Civil War reconstruction period. The next year Dr. Blassingame joined the faculty at Yale, where he is now editing the Frederick Douglass papers as well as teaching.

Dr. Blassingame believes that younger faculty are more likely to be interested in interdisciplinary teaching than most established scholars. For example, an introductory course on black culture is taught by a specialist in literature, a musicologist, an art historian, and folklorist. Two are black and two are white.

Although undergraduate programs in black studies at other institutions differ in detail, most of those that offer degrees are oriented toward the humanities. According to Joseph J. Russell, this is attributable in part to a shortage of social scientists who have specialized in the study of Afro-American themes.

CAREER PATTERNS

The vocational question—what does a student do with a degree in Afro-American Studies?—has discouraged students on some campuses from majoring in the field. For example, at one large West Coast university with hundreds of black students, only one was enrolled in 1976-1977 as a major in the undergraduate black studies program.

But, Dr. Russell says, the career pattern of students majoring in Afro-American studies is similar to that of other undergraduate liberal arts majors. "Only a fourth of their course work is in black studies," he says, and many of them are planning careers in civil service, com-

munications, or business. At Yale, most of the Afro-American studies majors enter graduate or professional school, the traditional paths of most liberal arts students there.

Russell Adams, chairman of the department of Afro-American Studies at Howard University, says that the supervised field work the department requires of all its majors helps many of them decide on careers. (The field work may be in any one of Washington's vast array of federal and community programs.) For example, Judith Flowers, who grew up in a public housing project in a low-income neighborhood in Chicago, said she decided to apply to law school rather than teach after she served as an intern at a legal aid office that specialized in tenant-landlord problems. In addition to interviewing clients and writing case histories, she had to keep a daily log of her experiences, participate with other students in a weekly field-work seminar, develop a basic research project, and learn to collect and analyze data.

MEXICAN AMERICAN STUDIES

At California State University at Northridge, 20 miles north of Los Angeles, a Ford Foundation-supported program has tackled a particular problem affecting the Mexican American community—a severe shortage of public school teachers trained as bilingual/bicultural specialists.

Under the leadership of Rodolfo Acuña, a historian, Northridge's Department of Chicano Studies has organized Operation Chicano Teacher (OCT) and its successor, El Nuevo Maestro (The New Teacher). In these programs, which are training more Chicano public school teachers than all other colleges and universities in California, the Department of Chicano Studies offers courses in Mexican American history and culture; courses in teacher preparation and methodology are taught by the Department of Education.

Participants in the teacher-training program are recruited by the Department of Chicano Studies from low-income families in Mexican American barrios. The students, who receive an annual stipend of $1,000, are required to take at least eighteen hours a semester and also attend workshops and monthly seminars with public school administrators, school board members, lawyers, and other community representatives.

During the three years of the Operation Chicano Teacher program, 150 students were enrolled. (By contrast fewer than ten Mexican Americans were enrolled in the School of Education.) Some 130 graduates of the OCT program later went into public school teaching, mainly in Los Angeles County. The county's Mexican American population is ap-

proaching two million, and is expected to constitute a plurality of the public school enrollment by 1980. The traditional public school policy that prompted a demand for bilingual/bicultural education in Los Angeles is illustrated by a childhood incident recalled by Diana Leyva, coordinator for Title One of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Ms. Leyva, now in her late twenties, grew up in the Los Angeles area.

"I remember speaking Spanish on the playground when I was in the third grade," she says. "I knew you weren't supposed to speak Spanish in class, but nobody told me it wasn't allowed on the playground. They took me inside and washed my mouth out with soap. I didn't speak at all at school until after the fourth grade. One day I stopped to talk to my fourth-grade teacher at a shopping center, and she told my mother she didn't know that I knew how to talk."

At Diana Leyva's old school, students no longer are separated in class on the basis of how well they speak English. Indeed, first graders tend to be unaware whether they are using English or Spanish words when they talk in class. At upper levels, teachers "code-switch" from one language to another. For example, a graduate of the Operation Chicano Teacher program recites a sixth-grade math problem in Spanish and calls on a student for the answer, then recites the problem again in English and calls on another student.

Manuel Gonzales, another OCT graduate, the son of migrants from Mexico, was the first in his family to attend college. Although he had not planned to go beyond junior college because he could not afford to, the stipend at Northridge enabled him to go on for a B.A. He now teaches world history in Spanish to a high school class of non-English speaking students, and he teaches English as a second language in a different class to the same students.

"Soon after I began teaching," he said, "I found older teachers coming to me to get information about where to find material for bilingual/bicultural education, and I found I could help because of my training at Northridge."

The number of Chicano undergraduates at Northridge has grown from under 40 in 1967 to more than 1,800 today.

The Department of Chicano Studies, Dr. Acuna says, "creates an environment where it's good to be Mexican. The students have role models and positive reinforcement at every level. We take a critical look at the myths about Mexican Americans—the dirty, lazy, sleepy Mexican portrayed in literature; we introduce scholars who see in the barrio tremendous literary potential. We take Mexican music seriously. When we teach history, we do not glorify the Mexican, but the story of the Alamo from a Chicano perspective is quite different from that portrayed by John Wayne [in the movie, 'The Alamo']."

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The University of California at Los Angeles has four graduate ethnic studies centers — for Asian Americans, American Indians, Afro-Americans, and Mexican Americans. Shown here are, opposite page: a conference room decorated with reproductions of early Mexican art (top); an exhibit of paintings, prints, and sculpture by Asian American artists (bottom); this page: a lecture on Afro-American thought by Dr. St. Clair Drake, author of Black Metropolis *(top); and a demonstration of Native American music (bottom).*

VARIATIONS

At the University of California at Santa Cruz, a 2,200-acre campus on rolling hills overlooking the Pacific Ocean, Oakes College is one of eight residential clusters. Under the direction of Provost Herman Blake, a 44-year-old sociologist, courses on the ethnic experience are offered as an integral part of the liberal arts curriculum.

Most of the 600 students at Oakes come from impoverished backgrounds. They include Chicanos, blacks, American Indians, and poor whites, and many are older than traditional college students (some are over 40). With the help of grants from the Ford Foundation and Carnegie Corporation, the college provides extensive counseling, tutoring, and other social services for its diverse student body.

Dr. Blake believes that students at one point only want to hear what is pleasing to them. "From the perspective of the liberal arts," he says, "it is my responsibility *not* to say [only] what is pleasing, but to keep them disturbed, troubled, and shaken up so that they are asking critical questions about what it is that pleases them."

Although he believes minority students must be secure and positive in their ethnic identity, he is concerned that some students may fail to go beyond that point. Minority students are not fully free, he says, until liberated from the need to be "anything but human."

At the same time, he notes, "we must not ignore their need to understand how they can apply what they're learning to the communities from which they come."

At Oakes College, a distinction is made between ethnic studies and teaching about the ethnic experience. The goal, Dr. Blake says, "is not just knowledge about an ethnic group, but to provide a starting point that motivates people to go beyond."

For example, a course on black social movements, taught by Dr. Blake and another sociologist, is listed under sociology, not ethnic studies. It begins with the Black Muslims, who are presented within a theoretical framework that allows the students, most of them black, to analyze the Muslims as a sociological phenomenon. "The theory is abstract," Dr. Blake explains, "but not irrelevant." From there, the students are shown how the theory applies to other historical movements, for example in nineteenth-century Britain during the industrial revolution or in eighteenth-century France before the revolution.

At the end of the course students wrote papers on such topics as Huey Long or the Ku Klux Klan. "What's all this doing in a class on black social movements?" he asks. "It's to help liberate people from thinking they can only apply the things learned in the course to something 'black.' They begin to see that knowledge has a universal framework."

Oakes College also has developed a strong natural sciences component, based in part on the recognition that minority students tend to avoid science. They do so, Blake believes, because of poor preparation, a fear of science as an impenetrable mystery, and a lack of information about the wide variety of careers that are available in science and technology.

For students with little or no background or interest in science, a basic course begins by placing the student in a laboratory with an unidentified substance. In this program, adapted from one developed at St. Andrew's College in North Carolina, the instructor circulates among the students, showing them how to test their substance, using lab equipment to measure infra-red qualities, density, and so forth. A list of 400 substances shows the qualities of each. Within five weeks, most of the students can identify the substance assigned them. They go from not even knowing what equipment they're using to a feeling that there is nothing to fear in the instruments or the scientific method, and finally to a sense of confidence in using them.

In addition, the science component includes a strong emphasis on values. "We teach that science and technology have social uses that need to be critically examined," says Dr. Blake. "We teach that very often the reasons for particular uses are political, so that some people end up with doctors in their communities and some people do not, which relates to income, politics, and a lot of other things. So at Oakes science is not just presented out there in a vacuum; it is presented within a context that is critical and questioning."

Dr. Blake believes that many college administrators fail to recognize the special strengths minority students bring with them.

As a general rule, he says, they arrive with enormous community support for their efforts to achieve a college education. He tells the story of two students from isolated Daufuskie Island off the coast of South Carolina. When they went home for Christmas after their first semester at Santa Cruz, a community meeting was called to hear them tell about their experiences.

"It is in their interest, and the interest of their communities, to do very well. This gives the student a strong motivation that can be used as a foundation for a disciplined and creative approach to studying."

Although some misunderstanding remains on college and university campuses about the role and content of undergraduate ethnic studies programs, their place now appears secure. The exaggerated political rhetoric that once enveloped ethnic studies has largely disappeared; many weak programs have been winnowed out, and the more established ones have entered a new phase of improved staffing, curricula, and financial support.

Graduate Programs

As a graduate student in Afro-American Studies at Boston University, Aundre Herron spent a summer teaching at a mission school in Liberia. The experience "fired my motivation," she recalls, "but it was also very painful—a paradox—being an outsider in a majority black culture. They related to me as an American first and as a black second. It was definitely a maturing experience."

Ms. Herron began teaching history at Emerson College after earning an M.A. in Afro-American Studies, with a concentration in history. She describes the 11-month program at Boston University as "a springboard for college teaching . . . now while teaching my class, I realize how much I learned that year."

She is one of forty-four students, several of them white, who by 1976 had completed the Boston University program. Their subsequent careers help answer the question of what one does with a master's degree in Afro-American Studies. Ten went on with their studies, working toward the Ph.D. in a variety of disciplines, many of them teaching part-time at the college level. Five were teaching full time at colleges, and another five in elementary or secondary schools. A dozen were working for community social agencies or in the ministry. Of the remainder, one went on to law school, two worked in college administration, two were in private business, one worked for the federal government, three were homemakers, and the occupations of three were unknown.

The Foundation began funding graduate ethnic studies programs like the one at Boston University in the early 1970s. A total of some $3 million went to six programs, covering Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian as well as Afro-American studies. The grants averaged $500,000 each, spread over five years, with a commitment from each university to continue the program after the grant period ended. The main objective of the grants was to produce scholars and scholarship.

The programs are diverse. Some include community service and research about contemporary social problems. Others are more traditional, emphasizing teaching and basic research. All are seeking to bring fresh perspectives to established academic disciplines.

The first graduate center established with Foundation support was at Atlanta University, where scholarly interest in the history and culture of blacks in America dates to 1897, when W. E. B. DuBois joined the faculty. Under his leadership, Atlanta became a center of black intellectual ferment and scholarship. The other centers are at the City University of New York (CUNY), for Puerto Rican Studies; at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), for a multi-ethnic program—four centers serve Asian American, Afro-American, American Indian, and

Chicano students; at Boston University for Afro-American studies, and at the University of Notre Dame for Mexican American studies. A graduate program in American Indian Studies planned for the University of Arizona failed to develop after the death of the scholar who had conceived the program and who would have become its first director. The Foundation's grant was subsequently returned.

In addition to supporting the graduate program in Afro-American Studies at Atlanta University, the Foundation also provided funds to establish a doctoral program in political science there that approaches the discipline from a black perspective. (This follows a recommendation by DuBois in a speech made in 1933. He argued that a Negro university should begin with a knowledge of the history of black people in Africa and in the United States, just as a Spanish university would start with Spain.)

Before DuBois left Atlanta in 1910 to join the Niagara Movement (out of which later came the NAACP), he published such studies as *The Philadelphia Negro* (1897) and *Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Major works of scholarship, they are still being read, the former as a seminal analysis in urban sociology and the latter as an interdisciplinary synthesis that is used by many colleges in contemporary history, English, and religion courses.

DuBois returned to Atlanta in 1933, four years after it became a university, and again stimulated interest in scholarship about the black experience. He founded *Phylon*, a distinguished quarterly on race and culture that is still published. Many other outstanding teachers at Atlanta followed the example of DuBois in analyzing the role of blacks in the development of American society. But such teachers rarely found positions of leadership in the larger society, and the stress on racial integration after World War II made such research seem unfashionable. By the late 1940s, the DuBois tradition was on the wane.

The new graduate programs in Afro-American studies and political science have helped to restore Atlanta's position as a major center for study of the black experience.

The interdisciplinary master's program in Afro-American studies at the School of Arts and Sciences is directed by Dr. Richard Long, a cultural historian with a Ph.D. in English literature. History and literature are emphasized, although students also study political science and sociology. They are not limited to courses offered at the university itself but can arrange to take those available at Emory University as well as at any of the six institutions that make up the Atlanta University Center (Clark, Morehouse, Spelman, and Morris Brown Colleges, Atlanta University, and the Inter-denominational Theological Center). Therefore students can, for example, take a concentration in theater, music, art, or communications, as well as in history and literature. For

most students the program extends over two years, one for course work, the other to conduct research and write a master's thesis.

A recurrent theme in the program is summed up as "African continuities in the new world." Students are introduced to the cultural and linguistic links between North American, Caribbean, and African blacks and are encouraged to investigate their various manifestations in music, art, cuisine, folk customs, and family life.

The number of students enrolled in the Atlanta program has declined from a high of twenty in 1971 to six in 1978. According to Dr. Long, the decline is due in part to the steady increase in the number of graduate programs in Afro-American studies offered throughout the country. Atlanta and Boston once had the only two master's degree programs available, but they are now in competition with some eight others. Another reason for the decline, Dr. Long says, is that there is now an Afro-American component in many graduate school courses where once there was none. Thus, a graduate student in English can now write a thesis on black literature or theater. At one time such topics probably would not have been approved.

A recent survey of the program's fifty graduates and another fifty former students who have not yet completed their dissertations, found a large percentage teaching, mainly in colleges, but with some in elementary and high schools. Others have gone into government, the law, or communications—journalism, radio, and television—and several have gone on to study for their doctorates, for the most part in American Studies or history.

Dr. Mack H. Jones, chairman of the Department of Political Science, and his associates have encouraged systematic examination of the effects of the emerging black electorate on politics in the South, in both rural and urban settings. By teaching political science from a black point of view, the doctoral program at Atlanta University is challenging the concept that the European-centered tradition is the only valid starting point for the social sciences.

Although the term "teaching from a black perspective" can be easily misunderstood, Dr. Jones asserts that it "does not mean that students would know any less about the world. It means that the assumptions that determine which facts are deserving of attention and emphasis . . . will grow out of the experiences of black people. To argue against the validity of such a perspective is to suggest that only the Anglo-Saxon experience is of sufficient quality for serious intellectual inquiry."

Dr. Jones contends that the failure of the social sciences to take into account any perspective except that of Western Europe results at times in failures to perceive reality. As an example, he cites the surprise of Western observers at the disintegration of the Nigerian government in 1966. It was a result of fierce tribal rivalries, economic conflicts, and

clashes between modern and traditionalist values. Westerners had thought Nigeria was a model of stability because it had a parliament, political parties, and other Westernized political institutions. "If analysis had begun from other assumptions," Dr. Jones says, "people would have been sensitive to other relationships that were more important . . . The best way to get a handle on that is to imagine the way an Israeli would look at the political situation in the Middle East; it would be quite different from the way an Arab would see it."

Dr. Jones, who grew up in a small town in Louisiana, earned his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Illinois. His chief professional interest is to make the political order and the discipline of political science more relevant, responsive, and usable for blacks. But the program at Atlanta University is neither separatist nor segregated. It includes whites both as faculty and students. Also, Atlanta and nearby Emory University, which is predominantly white, have an arrangement that permits students at one institution to take courses at the other.

Dr. Jones would like his students to graduate not only with a thorough understanding of statistics and analytical methods, but also with a set of values. For example, he would like them to be motivated to analyze the American political system critically—to determine for example whether there is a causal relation between existing political structures and the disproportionate levels of unemployment among blacks.

Since the beginning of the program in 1971, 6 graduates of Atlanta's new doctoral program have received Ph.D. degrees and 25 have completed all requirements but the dissertation. Most of the graduates are teaching at predominantly black colleges in the South. Others are working in government.

The Center for Puerto Rican Studies at CUNY conducts a program that is both academically ambitious and community-oriented. Under the direction of Dr. Frank Bonilla, a sociologist trained at Stanford University, a core staff of fifteen, most of whom are fairly young, operates out of a crowded suite of offices in mid-town Manhattan. One of their main concerns has been to ensure that departments of Puerto Rican Studies on the various CUNY campuses are "organic extensions of the community and not remote outposts in an alien space that only a few are privileged to penetrate." Another aim is to establish the center as an intellectual and educational resource to which policymakers may turn for information and advice in addressing the myriad problems facing the Puerto Rican community in New York, which now numbers over one million. With a Puerto Rican enrollment of 18,500, CUNY is a major entry point into higher education for that community.

Puerto Ricans are the poorest of the city's ethnic groups, with a

Community service is an integral part of the Puerto Rican Studies program at the City University of New York. Staff work closely with such groups as Aspira to generate pride in Puerto Rican cultural heritage. Here an Aspira modern dance troupe rehearses for a summer festival performed in various city neighborhoods.

median family income 78 per cent of that for blacks and 58 per cent of the total population's. Thus, they have been especially vulnerable to cutbacks in education and other public services as a result of New York City's financial crisis.

The center has conducted research about the effects on Puerto Ricans of one aspect of that crisis—the introduction of tuition at the City University. One such study showed that 75 per cent of the Puerto Rican students at CUNY came from families with annual gross income under $7,500, that application for admission among Puerto Ricans declined by 51 per cent after tuition was imposed and after plans were announced for testing incoming students. The center staff contends that the tests are biased in favor of white middle- and upper-class applicants, and that the number of Puerto Rican and black instructors was cut 25 per cent, although they comprise only 12 per cent of the teaching staff. The study went beyond a simple statement of its findings and recommended a seven-point strategy to deal with these issues. It suggested, for example, that Puerto Ricans from all CUNY campuses organize as one body to exert pressure on the city.

Other center research has covered the criminal justice and corrections systems as they affect Puerto Ricans and linguistic policy in the public schools (where Puerto Rican children constitute one-quarter of the enrollment).

As a back-up for its own investigations and to encourage more scholarly attention to Puerto Rican subjects, the center is developing a research library. Its holdings include primary sources and documents obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives. One indication of the paucity of scholarship on Puerto Ricans is that the center's collection of all known dissertations related to Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans numbers only 200. (By contrast the Yale library has several thousand dissertations related to Afro-Americans published since 1935.)

In a further effort to encourage research, the center is devising new ways of teaching research methods to Puerto Rican undergraduate and graduate students, who tend to be mystified and repelled by social science jargon and conventional research exercises. The center has begun to apply standard research techniques to community problems in which the students are interested. And in 1976 the center started a program to teach basic research skills to community leaders as well. The center also has played a catalytic role in bringing together Puerto Ricans from various institutions to discuss matters of common concern, for example, the under-reporting of the Puerto Rican population in the city's census.

Finally, the center tries to generate pride and interest in Puerto Rican cultural heritage. For example, it sponsored a Puerto Rican cultural

fair at an elementary school in East Harlem. Musicians, poets, painters, and craftsmen performed for the students and their families. A brief history of Puerto Rican theater in New York and a review of Puerto Rican music, both produced by the center's staff, were distributed at the fair.

Compared to the role played by the CUNY Center, there is much less involvement in community problems by the Chicano Studies Center at U.C.L.A. Although Chicano scholars tried as early as 1969 to organize a program that would combine academic studies with service to the Chicano community, their ideas have been generally rejected by university administrators. Even those supportive of programs to study Mexican American life and culture have tended to view direct community action as too political and inconsistent with the role of a university.

The university's insistence that the Chicano Studies Center concentrate on academic research has been a source of continuing conflict, particularly with younger Chicano faculty who believe that research and service should go hand in hand. Nevertheless, the center has begun to produce some scholarly results. It publishes the quarterly *Aztlan*, which is an international journal of research on Chicano studies, monographs on such subjects as "Chicanos in Higher Education," bibliographies, and pamphlets on topics of current interest. The center has also established an extensive research library.

Two other centers at UCLA are becoming distinguished for their scholarly publications and projects. The university's American Indian Culture and Research Center has published analyses of American Indian treaties, a volume on Mayan linguistics, and a pamphlet series that includes a collection of poems.

The Asian American Studies Center at UCLA has developed a Japanese American Research Project that has gathered what is generally considered the finest and most extensive collection of primary source materials on Japanese Americans. The center has also begun microfilming Oriental American newspapers, acquired a complete set of M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations about Asian Americans, and since 1971, has published the *Amerasia Journal* semi-annually. One of the center's books, *Roots: An Asian American Reader*, published in 1971, has gone through eight printings, and revenue from it has helped support other research. One recent project, an analysis of textbooks, found serious distortions and omissions in the treatment of Asian Americans. Center scholars transmitted their findings to the publishers and asked for rectification. The center publishes findings from such current research in working papers that are distributed to selected scholars.

Despite these achievements the UCLA centers have suffered a series of organizational and administrative problems in getting their graduate

ethnic studies programs under way. The first master's degree program, in Asian American studies, was not approved until late spring 1976. There was little time to recruit students for the following term, and only two were enrolled. By the fall of 1977, however, there were five. The other three centers, after some six years, are still in various stages of developing their master's programs. In addition, although the UCLA administration has committed the university to creating additional faculty positions for the programs, hiring for these jobs must be done by traditional academic departments in cooperation with the directors of the centers. Persuading some of the departments to cooperate remains a herculean task; it is the single most difficult problem these programs face.

Boston University has successfully combined master's degree studies, community service, and research and publications aimed at the larger scholarly community. At Boston students may also pursue a two-year dual degree program, combining an M.A. in Afro-American Studies with a master's in either journalism or social work.

The graduate program in Afro-American Studies was launched by Boston University on an experimental basis in 1969. From its inception, the program has been directed by Dr. Adelaide Hill Gulliver, a Radcliffe-Harvard-trained Ph.D. in sociology who in the 1950s helped establish a program in African studies at the University.

In the late 1960s, while serving as advisor to the black student group on campus, she heard a senior complain about a white professor who, in a course on minority groups, talked only about the pathology of blacks. She remembers thinking then that "perhaps we aren't doing enough about the black experience in America." She quickly began to rally support on campus to introduce an Afro-American component to the curriculum.

"It was a very important plus to have been at the university for many years, especially when I began trying to recruit and then gain tenure for my faculty," Dr. Gulliver said. "To work administratively in any institution, it makes life considerably easier if you know the people and they know you. For example, I could pick up the phone and call the head of the history department, whom I've known for a number of years."

(Those strong relations also enabled the Department of Afro-American Studies to become the first at the university to develop dual degree programs with other graduate schools.)

At Boston all seven full-time faculty members, two of them white, hold joint appointments with another department, and all are tenured.

During their first semester, all students take a core curriculum of four courses: Psychology of Race and Racism, Afro-Americans and the Arts and Humanities, the Black Community and Social Change, and

A graduate seminar in Afro-American Studies at Boston University. The Boston program consists of a year's study for the M.A. and includes community service and research. Students may also pursue a two-year degree program combining an M.A. in Afro-American studies with a master's in either journalism or social work.

Afro-American History. In addition, they take a non-credit seminar on field methods.

The second semester includes a wide range of electives, including courses listed with other departments, and concentration by the students in a specific aspect of Afro-American studies, such as history or literature and the arts. The electives, which are open to upper-level undergraduates, include courses in such subjects as Afro-American Art, Afro-American Drama, Studies in West Indian Literature, African History, and a seminar on Research in the Black Community, in which students work with faculty members on semester-long research projects.

A major distinction of Boston's Afro-American M.A. program is that a thesis is not required. Instead the students prepare thoroughly researched term papers under supervision. Dr. Gulliver believes that students learn as much about the techniques of research and academic presentation of material in such papers as in a thesis and that too often a master's thesis simply slows students down without contributing much of scholarly value. At Boston the students can complete the M.A. program in a year and then move on either to jobs or to higher academic studies.

In addition to arranging for students to take part in full-time, paid summer field work in Jamaica, Liberia, and in the Boston area, the Department of Afro-American Studies runs a volunteer program during the academic year. Students spend one day a week with community agencies on projects that range from tutorial programs to drug rehabilitation. An office of community placement works with such agencies as the Cambridge Community Center; an academic program for minority pupils called A Better Chance; the Elma Lewis Museum of Black Arts, and the Boston Archdiocese's Human Rights Program.

Although the program has been successful in using the community as a learning resource, there has been less success in a related objective, to make the community more aware of the university's potential to assist in solving or at least more clearly analyzing community problems. For example, during Boston's busing crisis of the mid-1970s, officials ignored a case study, by James E. Teele, a sociology professor in the Afro-American Studies Department. The study described an earlier, voluntary busing experiment in Boston and concluded that the experience had resulted in academic improvement for the participants. Also, a white Boston public school teacher who enrolled in Afro-American Studies during her sabbatical in 1976 remarked, "What I'm learning will be useful for me in my classroom," she said, "but the people who really need to be here are the school administrators."

Two other Boston University programs are notable. With the help of Ford Foundation funds, the university has established an Afro-American Archive in the main library, where papers of a number of

prominent black Americans, including many of Martin Luther King, Jr., are collected. Although the archive includes materials on blacks throughout America, it specializes in documents from New England. It is proving to be a gold mine for several faculty-student research projects that are investigating aspects of black life in the region.

Boston has also held a series of annual Afro-American Studies colloquia at which a variety of social, cultural, political, and economic problems are considered. The taped proceedings are edited for publication and distributed at a slight charge. The demand for them continues to grow.

At one colloquium, on "Black Images in Films, Stereotyping, and Self-Perceptions, viewed by Black Actresses," Cicely Tyson told of being excluded from a black film festival a few years before because her color was too dark. "There wasn't a face in those movies that looked like mine," Ms. Tyson said, "which means I was not only excluded from white films at that time, I was also excluded from black films."

Other colloquia subjects have included "Criminology and the Criminal Justice System: Old and New" and "American Law and the Black Community, viewed by Black Women Lawyers."

In the Mexican American studies program at the University of Notre Dame graduate students work toward master's or doctoral degrees in established disciplines—economics, history, or sociology, for example; they then concentrate on some aspect of Mexican American history or culture in their dissertations. In the academic year 1977-78 the program had twenty-seven graduate students, of whom twenty-four were Mexican Americans.

Notre Dame was a recognized leader in the field of Mexican American studies even before the new program was started. This was due to the research and publications of Dr. Julian Samora, now the program's director, and to the record of the University of Notre Dame Press as a major publisher of scholarly works on Mexican American history and culture. Through 1977 the press has published seventeen such books, with sales totaling well over 100,000 copies. The two biggest sellers to date have been Profesor Samora's *La Raza: Forgotten Americans* (1961) and Ernesto Galarza's *Barrio Boy* (1971).

According to James R. Langford, director of the university press, the grant from the Ford Foundation "enabled us to continue to publish worthwhile books with emphasis on quality rather than on the size of their potential market." Langford is expanding the Mexican American series. In 1977, for example, three titles were issued: *The U.S.-Mexico Border*, by Raul Fernandez, *Farm Workers and Agribusiness in California: 1947-1960*, by Ernesto Galarza, and *History of the Mexican American People*, by Julian Samora and Patricia V. Simon. Additional

books are expected to develop from dissertations beginning to emerge in the doctoral program.

Resource Centers

For serious students of the black experience in America, the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History in Washington, the Amistad Research Center* at Dillard University in New Orleans, and the Schomburg Center of Research in Black Culture in New York City have been invaluable resources.

Arthur A. Schomburg, a Puerto Rican of African descent who came to the United States in 1891, declared that for the Negro, "History must restore what slavery took away, for it is the social damage of slavery that the present generation must repair and offset." A remark by one of his teachers in Puerto Rico that "the Negro has no history" began Schomburg on his lifelong work of collecting African art and literary and historical material about blacks.

His collection, gathered on three continents, grew to more than 9,000 volumes and manuscripts and 2,000 works of art. They ranged over early African cultures; slavery, missionary, and colonizing eras; and studies of black art, drama, religion, linguistics, and science. In 1926, the collection was deposited in a new branch of the New York Public Library—the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints at 135th Street in Harlem. There, they helped stimulate the "Harlem Renaissance," the collective name given the large number of black poets, essayists, and novelists who emerged after World War I. Renaissance members won recognition not only for their artistry, but also for their eloquent protests against the oppression of their people.

Schomburg served as curator from 1932 until his death in 1938. His collection continued to grow with gifts from private contributors. The holdings include rare African art objects—sculpture, wood carvings, weaponry, religious artifacts, musical instruments, and jewelry. It also contains music, films, prints, posters, and photos as well as newspapers and books and manuscripts by black scholars and artists.

An example of research for which the Schomburg collection served as a major source is the book, *Harlem Renaissance*, by Nathan Huggins, a historian at Columbia University. Another is *The Novels of the Har-*

*The center takes its name from the Spanish schooner, "Amistad," which was commandeered in 1839 by Cuban slaves who ordered the crew to sail them back to Africa. The ship was illegally seized by the U.S. Navy off Long Island, but, with the help of the American Missionary Association, the Africans were permitted to proceed to Sierra Leone.

lem Renaissance, by Amritjit Singh, written while he was supported by a Ford Foundation Ethnic Study Dissertation Fellowship.

Since 1967, the Schomburg Center has processed more than a million new items, but in recent years it has suffered from lack of proper storage facilities and of air conditioning, which has threatened the collection with deterioration and ruin. A Foundation grant in 1975 (the third since 1967) paid the cost of microfilming thousands of the collection's fragile documents, and other grants, from the state of New York and the National Endowment for the Humanities, have supplemented funds from the City of New York for additional microfilming and such expenses as salaries for additional staff. Vertical files with clippings under some 10,000 subject headings are being converted to microfiche. This will protect them from further damage, provide for easier storage, and continue their accessibility to scholars.

The building that houses the Schomburg collection is in a state of disrepair, and on several days during the winter of 1976-1977 the collection was closed to the public because of inadequate heat in the building. A $3.7 million federal grant to the City of New York was earmarked in 1977 for a new Schomburg Center, which will be an air conditioned four-story glass and masonry building.

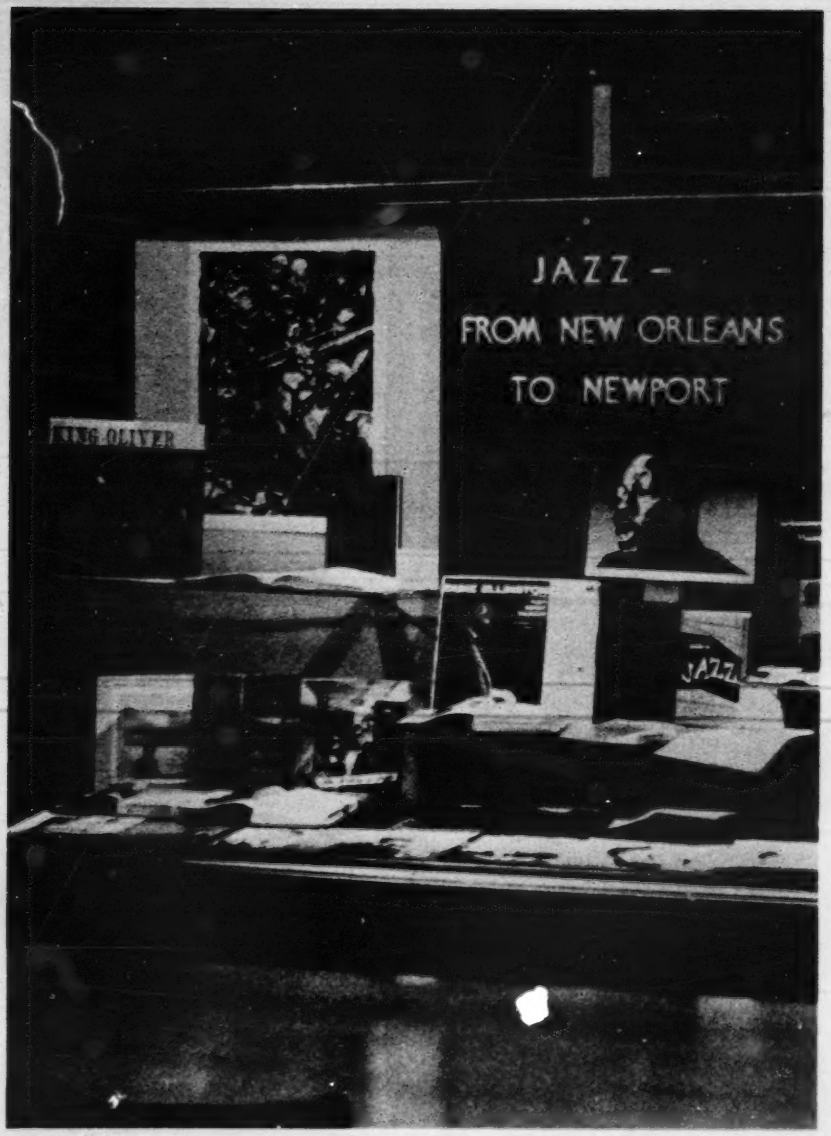
The Amistad Research Center was established in 1966 by the American Missionary Association of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries. Originally located at Fisk University, the center has been at Dillard since 1970. It contains the complete archives of the American Missionary Association, which played a critical role in the development of the black church and the establishment of black colleges. It also holds the archives of the Race Relations Department of the United Church of Christ, some 5,000 reference volumes, and the papers of such black leaders as the poet Countee Cullen and the educator Mary McLeod Bethune.

A Foundation grant in 1975 underwrote the cataloguing and processing of Amistad's manuscript collection and records that document the civil rights struggle in Selma, Alabama, during the 1950s and 1960s.

The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History is the oldest black scholarly organization in America. It was founded by the historian Carter G. Woodson in 1915 "to assist Negro people in improving their concept of self as a basis for larger and more meaningful sharing in the nation's growth, and to acquaint all Americans with the contributions of black people."

Since 1915, the association has published the *Journal of Negro History*, a scholarly quarterly, whose back issues Prof. C. Vann Woodward recently called "a real mine of black history all American historians are indebted to." *The Negro History Bulletin*, aimed primarily at elementary and high school students, has been published regularly

An exhibit on jazz at the Arthur A. Schomburg Center of Research in Black Culture in New York City. A new building will soon house the center's extensive collection of African art and music, films, photos, and books by black scholars and artists.



since 1937, and the association also publishes textbooks describing the contributions of blacks in American history.

Toward the end of the 1960s, the association began showing unmistakable signs of decline, despite the interest aroused by the civil rights movement. In 1968, for example, only 212 people attended its annual convention. Most of the local chapters were only paper organizations. By the early 1970s the association had accumulated a debt of $186,000. Its once-profitable publishing arm, Associated Publishers, was operating in the red.

The Foundation first provided support with a grant in 1970 to finance research for seventeen historical monographs on a variety of subjects, several of which have been published in book form, and for an index to the *Journal of Negro History*. In 1973, the Foundation granted supplementary matching funds to augment staff salaries for three years and to hire an experienced professional as executive director.

By 1976, the third year under the new leadership of J. Rupert Picott, a historian and trained administrator, the association had paid its debts, active membership had grown to 16,000 and annual income from dues had risen from less than $6,000 to more than $300,000. The 1976 convention in Chicago attracted 2,800 persons. Older chapters have been revitalized and new ones started. Chapters now exist in forty-seven states, although some are still only minimally active.

With a $300,000 grant from the Armco Foundation, the Association in 1975 launched a National Historic Marker Project for Afro-American leaders. The first marker was placed at the birth site of Carter Woodson.

A research library is being developed at the association's headquarters building in Washington, and a librarian is cataloging an extensive collection of books and periodicals for convenient use by scholars.

Under Woodson's leadership in 1926 the association launched a National Negro History Week; in 1976 it was expanded to National Black History Month. For both the "week" and the "month" the Department of Defense alone has annually purchased 25,000 of the association's teaching kits for distribution among the Armed Forces.

With its renewed strength and new management, the association appears to have entered a period of self-sustaining growth.

The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University makes available for study thousands of artifacts, books, manuscripts, newspapers, photographs, prints, recordings, and other materials documenting from antiquity to the present the history and culture of black people in Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, and North and South America.

The nucleus of the collection dates to 1873, six years after Howard was founded, when the New York abolitionist, Lewis Tappan, bequeathed to the university library 1600 books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and clippings on slavery. In 1914 Dr. Jesse E. Moorland, an alumnus

and trustee, donated his sizable private library on black people in Africa and America, and in 1946 the university purchased the unique collection of Arthur B. Spingarn, a civil rights attorney and long-time president of the NAACP. The fruit of a global search of more than thirty-five years, the Spingarn Collection includes works by black authors in some twenty languages, ranging from Arabic to Finnish, and from Greek to Zulu. It has a particularly large selection of Afro-Cuban, Afro-Brazilian, and Haitian writers.

For some twenty-five years thereafter, under the direction of curator Dorothy B. Porter, the Moorland-Spingarn Collection was steadily expanded to meet the growing needs of the university's teaching and research programs. In 1970, with a grant from the Ford Foundation, the university undertook to inventory, catalog, and publicize the collection. In 1973 the collection was reorganized into the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center.

With its extensive library, manuscript, and museum facilities for the scholarly study of black history and culture, the center is recognized as one of the world's largest and most comprehensive repositories of its kind. Among the center's rare items are a 1773 edition of Phillis Wheatley's poems, the only known autographed copy of the autobiography of Gustavus Vassa, a book that contributed to the abolition of the British slave trade, and the beautifully carved desk of Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina, the first black representative in the United States Congress, who served from 1870 to 1879.

Fellowships in Ethnic Studies

As a graduate student in history at Harvard University in 1971, Theodore Rosengarten found himself broke and in debt after completing more than 120 hours of taped interviews with a remarkable 84-year-old black sharecropper in Alabama.

A Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship in Ethnic Studies allowed Rosengarten to spend a year transcribing the tapes and putting together *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*, (Knopf, 1974). (Shaw was the fictionalized name of real-life sharecropper Ned Cobb.) The book was widely acclaimed and went on to win the National Book Award.

"I learned from doing the book," said Rosengarten, "that what was going to make or break it was to keep the whole unity in mind. It took concentration from the moment I woke up until the moment I went to bed. I couldn't have given it that if I had been teaching part-time, but the grant money freed me from the anxiety of earning a living and worrying about paying the rent."

The Ethnic Study Dissertation Fellowships were granted between 1970 and 1973 to Ph.D. candidates, regardless of race or ethnic origin, to encourage research and publication on the history and culture of Afro-Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, or American Indians.

During the program, one-year dissertation fellowships were made to 277 graduate students. Grants totaled $1.1 million, with the average award roughly $4,000.

In addition to Rosengarten's book, which was published commercially, five other ethnic studies dissertations were published in conjunction with a Foundation grant of $250,000 in 1972 to the American Association of University Presses. The five were: *Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1710-1776,* by Thomas E. Norton, University of Wisconsin Press; *Federal Indian Policy, 1829-1849,* by Ronald Satz, University of Nebraska Press; *The Novels of the Harlem Renaissance,* by Amritjit Singh, Pennsylvania State University Press; *Ohio and the Color Line,* 1850-1915, by David Gerber, University of Illinois Press; and *Midwest Ghetto, Patterns of Negro Life and Thought in Cleveland,* 1929-1945, by Christopher Wye, University of Illinois Press.

The number of dissertations selected for publishing fell far short of original expectations by the Foundation staff. Only $75,000 of the grant was spent, with the remainder returned to the Foundation.

Despite the paucity of books resulting from the project, roughly 80 per cent of the recipients completed their dissertations during their fellowship periods.

To improve the quality of scholarship and of teaching in the field of American Indian history, the Center for the History of the American Indian was established in 1972 at the famed Newberry Library in Chicago. The Newberry, which dates to 1885, is a private research library specializing in history and the humanities. It also holds one of the world's largest private collections of materials dealing with Indian-white relations, Indian languages, treaties, and tribal history. The center was formed to make these unique and specialized resources more accessible to scholars and advanced students. Shortly after the center was founded, it received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. To meet the Endowment's matching requirements, the Foundation joined with other foundations to provide additional funds. A five-year Ford Foundation grant enabled sixteen Ph.D. candidates to write dissertations on topics dealing with American Indian history. The fellowships, which are for one year, are open to doctoral candidates regardless of ethnic origin; about one-fifth have been American Indians. Among the dissertation topics have been: cultural conflicts reflected in the Virginia Indian Uprising of 1662; the role of women in Native American societies; a comparison of French and English policy

toward the American Indian, and continuities in Navajo life in the midst of change. After their year at the center the fellows have gone on to careers of teaching and research in the field.

Scholars For The Future

The demand for ethnic studies emerged from the social and political climate of the 1960s. The heightened consciousness of minority students led to recognition that non-European cultures had been neglected by a white, European-oriented academic tradition.

Although scholars in the field agree that the social pressures and student unrest of the 1960s have abated, Dr. Russell Adams at Howard University believes there will be continued pressure for intellectual examination of the "totality of phenomena involving blacks and their relations with non-blacks of the world." He believes the legitimacy of Afro-American Studies will be increasingly recognized, partly because of the growing awareness of the Caribbean and African linkages with North American blacks and also because of Africa's emergence as a force in world affairs.

At the same time other minority groups are developing their own scholars and scholarship, in order to enlarge self-understanding and to expand general awareness and appreciation of the rich ethnic diversity of American culture.

The development of a nucleus of well-trained scholars from non-European cultural traditions who are working in leading academic institutions coincides with the withering of European colonialism and its assumption of moral, cultural, and economic superiority. In the years ahead, this new generation of scholars can be expected to press for parity with those representing European culture and values.

Ford Foundation Grants for Ethnic Studies

GENERAL

University of California (Los Angeles)	
Coordinated graduate program in ethnic studies (1971)	$527,508
University of California (San Diego)	
Development of ethnic studies courses at new college (1970)	149,428
University of California (Santa Cruz)	
Development of ethnic studies content for arts program (1973)	77,420
University of Denver	
Research on the role of race in international relations (1969, 1972)	250,000
Tuskegee Institute	
Social science research on minority groups (1967)	299,595
ETHNIC STUDIES DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS	
Three hundred and thirty-eight fellowships in ethnic studies for Ph.D. candidates from universities throughout the country (1970-1973)*	

AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

Educational Programs

Atlanta University	
Doctoral program in political science (1971)	1,750,000
Frederick Douglass Institute of Negro Arts and History-Museum	
Educational program on black history and culture (1967)	250,000
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change	
Afro-American studies program (1970)	100,000
National Endowment for the Humanities	
Summer institutes on black history and culture (1969)	164,124
Educational program of Frederick Douglass Institute of Negro Arts and History-Museum (1970)	300,000
Afro-American Studies Programs at Colleges and Universities	
Atlanta University (1970, 1973)	529,680
Atlanta University Center Corporation (1970)	46,000
Boston University (1970, 1972)	467,158
Duke University (1970)	97,664
Fisk University (1970)	62,220
Howard University (1969)	139,425
Jackson State College (1970)	23,000
Lincoln University (1969)	92,000
Morgan State College (1969)	150,000
New York University (1970)	148,020
Princeton University (1969)	88,300
Rutgers University (1969)	62,024

*List of fellows available on request.

Stanford University (1969)	135,866
Vanderbilt University (1970)	47,100
Yale University (1969, 1975)	233,000

Research, Seminars and Conferences

Academy for Educational Development	
Evaluation seminar on Afro-American studies (1970)	39,100
American Academy of Arts and Sciences	
International conference on Afro-American studies (1970)	99,500
John Jay College of Criminal Justice	
Faculty curriculum and research seminars on race and minority problems (1967)	45,893
Northwestern University	
Conference on Afro-American art history (1970)	15,806
Princeton University	
Comparative study of Negro and white college graduates (1968)	54,400
Syracuse University	
Research on black student experience at predominantly white colleges (1967)	152,471

Development and Dissemination of Materials on Black History and Culture

Association for the Study of Negro Life and History	
Preparation of Afro-American studies course materials (1969)	330,000
Columbia University	
Development of material on Afro-American culture and civilization (1968)	20,000
University of Georgia	
Film on the life of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays (1975)	10,000
Howard University	
Civil rights documentation project (1971)	312,000
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change	
Library documentation project (1971)	100,000
Southern Association of Colleges and Schools	
Paperback book collections on Afro-American subjects for black colleges (1969)	99,300
Organizations of materials in black collections	
Amistad Research Center (1975)	73,188
Atlanta University (1969)	71,000
Atlanta University Center Corporation (1969)	55,000
Fisk University (1969)	86,100
Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1970)	55,000
Howard University (1970)	90,000
Library Company of Philadelphia (1970)	60,000
National Endowment for the Humanities (1972)	25,000
New York Public Library, Astor and Tilden Foundation (Schomburg Collection) (1967, 1975)	88,500

MEXICAN AMERICAN STUDIES

California State University, Northridge	
Preparing Chicanos for teaching positions (1973, 1976)	471,270
University of California (Irvine)	
Symposium on Chicano psychology (1976)	4,500
University of California (Los Angeles)	
Study of the social, economic, and political status of Mexican Americans (1964, 1966)	648,000
Claremont University Center	
Establishing the Chicano Chronicle, a newspaper of Mexican American history (1973)	58,750
University of Notre Dame	
Inter-disciplinary graduate program in Mexican American studies (1971)	499,545
Analysis of Mexican American history (1968)	140,000

PUERTO RICAN STUDIES

Aspira of America	
Educational program for Puerto Rican youth (1972)	260,000
Studies of the migration experience in Puerto Rico (1976)	24,000
City University of New York	
Center for Puerto Rican Studies (1973, 1976)	737,150

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

University of Arizona	
Graduate program in American Indian studies (1971)	303,737
Boston University	
Production of educational films about American Indians in the Southwest (1973, 1975)	99,754
National Endowment for the Humanities	
Fellowships for sixteen Ph.D. candidates preparing dissertations on American Indians (1972)	64,000
Navajo Community College	
Preparation of two books dealing with the recent history of the Navajo people (1973)	63,332
Oglala Sioux Community College	
Mobile library for the college center (1972)	78,450